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INTRODUCTION

THE introductory material consists of four parts. First the concept of ethos is treated from the historical as well as definitive points of view. Attention is given to the methodological aspects of those studies in the field of "culture and personality" which immediately influenced the writer's thinking particularly since his initial field work.[1] Following a definition of ethos, a theory is briefly presented on the manner in which the ethological characteristics of a society become established in the early socialization of children. A statement of methodology follows which points out the conditions which must be known in order to repeat the field work and analysis upon which the descriptions of Kaska culture and ethos are based or to duplicate the work in another society. In other words, the "conditions of the experiment" are presented with some of the thoroughness that has recently been solicited from anthropologists.[2] The introduction concludes with an alphabetical "directory" of the principal informants arranged with cross-references to parents and other relatives whenever possible and other useful information.

PREVIOUS STUDIES OF ETHOS

Over centuries men have noted differences in the emotional aspects of behavior manifested in different societies. From the time of the Greeks travelers have reported their impressionistic pictures of the emotional character of the behavior which they have encountered in groups they visited.[3] It is to be expected that when the task of studying preliterate societies became one of the principal tasks of the anthropologist he should have been aware of the earlier attempts to characterize emotionally the behavior of exotic peoples. The reports of early field workers are frequently marked by paragraphs referring to the "temperament" or the "moral and intellectual characteristics" of the societies which were under observation. Other ethnographers sought to rectify travelers' prejudiced views of preliterate societies as, on the one hand, idealized havens of human welfare and, on the other, barbarous survivals of an original state of savagery. Beyond these steps, however, anthropologists were slow to proceed in the qualitative characterization of the emotional aspects of the phenomena which they were studying.

An explanation can be ventured for the apparent unwillingness of anthropologists to follow travelers in the emotional characterization of social life. The field worker, no matter how keenly he might appreciate the unique qualities of the behavior which he encountered, was impressed by scientific values that demanded great reliability and rigor in his reporting. As a scientist the anthropologist realized that generalized and impressionistic characterization had to be replaced by more systematic and verifiable methods of observation and interpretation.

[1] Honigmann, *Ethnography and Acculturation of the Fort Nelson Slave* (1946).

[2] Kluckhohn, *The Personal Document in Anthropological Science* (1945), 171.

[3] The onomastic study of national character, as we have recently been reminded, is very old indeed and has perennially been injected with fresh vigor by partisan interest. See Hertz, *Nationality in History and Politics* (1944); Huxley and Haddon, *We Europeans* (1935), 61-67.

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did not have the historical sense necessary to give a chronological record of this type. As interviews continued and some subjects became more accustomed to talking in the ethnographer's presence, a number of "expressive interviews,"[3] were devised. These followed both active and passive techniques. In the passive interviews an attempt was made to duplicate as much as possible the psychoanalytic situation in which a subject is invited to speak freely whatever comes to his mind. In most cases where active participation of the ethnographer occurred in such interviews, the latter's question or direction was noted so that this influence could later be evaluated in analyzing the flow of communication. It was observed that strong or persistent questioning tended to produce confusion and arouse discomfort in many people. This made active interviewing extremely difficult. On the other hand if subjects were left alone with the invitation for spontaneous communication, they often said nothing. All of these behavioral reactions were regarded as important data for subsequent analysis. Another form of behavior was noted in two or three people. They manifested a rapid flow of more or less chronological detail which contained little in the way of personal attitudes or reactions to life experiences. This was a difficulty that could not be overcome. Each interview opened with a request for dreams. If any dreams were submitted, an attempt was made to secure associations. Only once or twice were dreams interpreted to subjects. Interviews were paid for at the conclusion of each hour and were, for the most part, recorded verbatim but in "long hand." They were always conducted in privacy, some in the ethnographer's home during the absence of his family, others on a log in the brush some distance from camp. Most interviews with men, however, were conducted in a small camp which the ethnographer had erected in a secluded area in Lower Post.

Finally, the Rorschach technique was used to secure verbal responses and additional behavioral data. Like interviews, Rorschach protocols were attached to the P-data sheets which, in some cases, soon expanded into files.

During the time that informants were being interviewed, tested, or engaged in conversation, they were freely treated to cigarettes or cigarette tobacco. In a few cases interviews were followed by lunch or supper at the ethnographer's home.

Analysis. Up to this point discussion of method has been largely limited to the preparation for field work and the techniques followed in the observation and recording of behavior (including verbalization in the word "behavior"). When the collection of data was completed, two types of material could be distinguished, ethnographic data, which had been classified into categories specified in the *Outline of Cultural Materials*,[4] and personality data, consisting of interviews, Rorschach records, and the P-data sheets.

Analysis was first employed to construct a cultural background for the study of Kaska ethos. This was done primarily with the ethnographic data, although in some instances attitudes and experiences recorded on the P-data sheets were also utilized when these added knowledge that had not otherwise been observed or reported. The construction of the cultural background may be schematically described as follows:[5]

[3] Kluckhohn, *The Personal Document in Anthropological Science* (1942), 106–109.

[4] Murdock, *et al.*, *Outline of Cultural Materials* (1945).

[5] Nothing in the following outline should be taken to deny that observation is not always compounded of some degree of inference or that perception is not always largely selective.

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Procedure	Example
128 1. Observation of behavior, material products of behavior, and material aids to behavior. (The important assumption underlying observation was that most of the behavior observed by the anthropologist is socially patterned.)	The manufacture of a toboggan by Hans Donnelly.
2. The psychological results of behavior inferred from (1). (By psychological results of behavior is meant the knowledge, attitudes, and values which are acquired from the individual's "interaction with his environment and consequent learning."[10])	Satisfaction with a job getting done tempered with frustration at being forced to work with poor materials and inadequate tools. Increasing awareness that native manufactures rarely approximate commercially derived products in quality. Increasing regard for commercial as over against native manufactures.
3. Attitudes and ideas inferred from (1) and (2), or communicated through verbal behavior, which consciously or unconsciously underlie the behavior in (1)	Ideas specifying the appropriate materials, their treatment and assembly, necessary in order to complete a useful toboggan. The desire to build a toboggan which would enable Hans to transport food, shelter, and clothing to the trap line in winter and on which to bring back fur. A useful toboggan seemed to be far more important than a fully finished vehicle and no ideas of perfectionism were inferred from either behavior or object.
4. Classification of (1), (2), and (3) according to the categories of the *Outline of Cultural Materials*. (Historical and acculturation data were conventionally excluded from the cultural background and reserved for inclusion elsewhere in the monograph.)	Most of the data could be classified under "travel and transportation—land transportation." The ideas regarding native products versus commercial products were classified under "Acculturation."

It will be understood that part of this process of inference occurred almost simultaneously with, or shortly after, the act of observation. Inference, however, may continue to occur at any time after observation as, for example, when observed and inferred data are reexamined in the light of subsequent observed behavior or additional experience (e.g., reading) on the part of the ethnographer.

The next step, after the process of analysis was felt to be sufficiently completed, was to describe the observed and inferred data. In the description of Kaska culture the *Outline of Cultural Materials*, according to which the data had been provisionally classified, was departed from in several respects. At this point a reexamination of the data was undertaken to discover whether the observed behaviors served primarily adaptive or adjustive goals—

[10] Linton, *The Cultural Background of Personality* (1945), 32.

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that is, whether they were directed toward maintaining life in, or processing resources of, the physical environment (technical culture) or whether they were oriented toward securing the adjustment of individuals in the social environment (social culture).[4] When this had been done a third division, ideational culture, was devised to contain primarily reported ideas and attitudes directed toward the supernatural, natural, and social environments. Besides serving adaptive and socially adjustive goals, these ideas may also be regarded as assisting in securing the adjustment of the individual to himself. Each of the first two major divisions of Kaska culture was then reanalyzed to determine how well they were fulfilling their adaptive and adjustive functions. The evaluation of personal adjustment was largely reserved for consideration in connection with Kaska ethos. The results of the reanalysis were written up in sections labeled "Conclusions" which were appended to the three main divisions. 128

The second aim of analysis was to formulate a picture of Kaska ethos. Schematically this may be represented as follows:

Procedure	Example
	Situation A
1. Observation of behavior (and, in some cases, the material products of behavior). (The underlying assumption, that most behavior observed by the anthropologist is learned, has already been stated.)	Men delay their return to the trap line.
2. The emotional aspects of behavior (and, in some instances, of the material products of behavior) inferred from (1). (By the emotional aspects of behavior is meant those features of behavior from which motivation can be derived deductively. Similarly, working with material products, attention is directed toward the features from which motives can be inferred.)[5]	Delay and procrastination.
3. The emotional aspects of the psychological results of behavior inferred from (1) and (2).	A reduction of the anxiety aroused by the task of being faced with going to the trap line. Anxiety engendered as the result of delaying an important task and thereby imperiling subsistence.[6] Delaying the return to the trap line results in a

[4] The notion of separating behavior from its adaptive and adjustive aspects is derived from Kluckhohn and Sturgis. See, Kluckhohn, *Navaho Witchcraft* (1944), 46; Sturgis, *Psychology of Personality* (1937), 6-8.

[5] Interesting comments on the role of imitation in the inference of emotion will be found in Hebb, *Emotion in Man and Animals: An Analysis of the Intuitive Processes of Recognition* (1946).

[6] This inference is important as an index of the relative weakness of the defense chosen to relieve the anxiety engendered by the task to be done.

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	sense of being relieved from an arduous and unpleasant necessity whose uncertain rewards and required effort engender a sense of anxiety and doubt.
	Situation B
1. Observation of behavior.	People fail to keep their promises to cooperate in making a parka.
2. The emotional aspects of behavior inferred from (1).	Temporizing, vacillation, procrastination.
3. The emotional aspects of the psychological results of behavior inferred from (1) and (2)	A reduction of the anxiety aroused by the task of making a parka in accordance with a promise. Anxiety engendered as the result of risking friendship by refusing cooperation. Failure to keep a promise results in a sense of being relieved of an unpleasant duty. People would rather promise cooperation and then fail to keep the promise than refuse cooperation straightforwardly.
	Situation n
4. The dominant motivations inferred from the emotional aspects of *n* situations. (The dominant motivations correspond, as already been pointed out, to a socially conditioned world of meanings. These meanings determine the conscious and unconscious emotional significance of the internal and external situations which the individual encounters. Such significance, it is assumed, is expressed in motivated behavior or in the products of behavior called forth in that situation.)	Flexibility, operating to define situations that threaten the resources of the ego. Deference, operating to define situations that threaten to imperil human relations.
5. Classification of *n* situations under the dominant motivations by which they are defined.	Procrastination is an aspect of flexibility. The reluctance to make outright refusals and the tendency to promise without fulfilling the promise are aspects of deference.

The inferential process presented above, especially as it yields dominant motivations, involves many psychiatric and psychological assumptions. Although some of the inferences may be hard to follow by those not too familiar with work in psychiatry and psychoanalysis, one does not, it seems, have to agree with Kardiner that, "In each instance the derivation of basic personality was an exercise in psychopathology, and as the matter now stands no one without an expert knowledge of psychodynamics can make any contribution to the technique."[18]

Following the completion of the analysis, the next step was to describe the dominant

[18] Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society* (1945), xvii.

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motivations of the Kaska Indians and to illustrate their operation with selected and inferred data. 128

The process by which the ethos was analyzed will now be considered in greater detail. Circumstances permitted an opportunity to develop the major outlines of this theory in the field, leaving sufficient time to verify many conclusions in subsequent and directed observation and interrogation. Insights into the ethos were first derived by what may be described as empathy into, or psychological penetration of, the attitudes and values of the group. Such an empathic relationship may, of course, be deliberate as well as unconscious. Several times the writer sought purposefully to put himself in the place of the people in order better to gauge the basis of their emotions.[40] At other times he felt himself becoming blunted in the analysis of emotional nuances of behavior because he had unconsciously developed too great a readiness to accept the cultural milieu. Here empathy was unconsciously achieved. Such unconscious identification was regarded as dangerous because it resulted in failure to analyze certain emotional expressions as different from those found in our own society. Recognition of this fact quickly led to conscious readjustment. It cannot be denied that deliberate conscious empathy into an exotic group is an important mechanism for providing a foundation on which to predict behavior.[41]

One of the first steps in analysis was to verify the fact that the Kaska nation as a whole possessed a reasonable degree of homogeneity. This was accomplished in the field by establishing that the behaviors and products of members of different Kaska tribes were similar, and by an inspection of the Rorschach protocols collected.[42] With this homogeneity established, it seemed likely that further analysis based on the observation of a few tribes could be applied to the Kaska as a whole. This does not deny that the picture of the ethos presented is merely one which was derived from the people studied. Further investigation of additional subjects may lead to some modifications in the final theory. 128 184

Two principal steps may be distinguished in the analytical process: first, the inference of socially patterned dominant motivations from ethnographic data and, second, the inference of this system from the personality data, including interviews, Rorschach records, dreams, folk-tales, and the casual bits of conversation and items of behavior noted on the P-data sheets. Both of these steps are combined in the schematic outline presented above. 128

In the first step, the analysis of the ethnographic data, a series of behaviors and a few material products of behavior were inspected in order to infer recurrent forms of emotional (i.e., motivated) expression, that were assumed to be related to the world of meanings.[43]

[40] Psychological penetration of individuals is an established part of psychiatry. See Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society* (1945), 229. See also Krige and Krige, *The Realm of a Rain-Queen* (1943), 109–110.

[41] It is probably to such an experience that Hoebel alludes when he says that the "feel" for a culture includes "the observer's sense of what is . . . *probable* and *fitting* . . . " in that culture (italics ours). Hoebel, *Discussion* (1943), 228.

[42] Hallowell has suggested the utility of the Rorschach Test for determining the homogeneity of social groups. Hallowell, *The Rorschach Technique in the Study of Personality and Culture* (1945), 207–208.

[43] It is appreciated that emotion is a product of many other factors, including nutrition as well as endocrine and constitutional processes, and is also dynamically related with the intellectual elements of perception. The physiological aspects of emotion are not included in the present study because of the fact that adequate methods were not available for studying their influence and because, in some cases, there is as yet too little evidence concerning the extent to which such influences are subject to social conditioning.

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● 128 Simultaneously the second step was carried out, the analysis of the personality data. Dreams were interpreted in accordance with the recognized principles of dream interpretation and their emotional aspects noted.[9] Rorschach records were scored and mean scores computed for adults and children.[10] In the analysis of these means closer attention was paid to adults' than to children's protocols. This was done for the reason that the bulk of the ethnographic data had been derived from observation of adult behavior and most of the personality material, like dreams and interviews, was also received from the mature section of the society. It was therefore thought that, in inferring dominant motivations, adult data from these sources could not be validly equated with the records of children's behavior in the Rorschach situations, because children were still in the process of having their basic motivations shaped by the society.

Analysis of folktales was undertaken on the assumption that these traditions retain an emotional significance beyond their obvious themes because they reflect emotionally impressive childhood situations of paramount significance to the individual or because they contain, in symbolic form, wishful solutions of important problems of interpersonal relationships, like the relationship of the sexes. Folktales were not sought for, nor were published sources of Kaska tales consulted. The usefulness of folktales was related to the fact that they [127] were spontaneously offered and a careful record was kept of the conditions under which such material was produced. In analyzing the tales, the emotional significance of the situations in which they were told, as well as of the narratives themselves, was inferred.

As this process went on we accumulated inferences of motivation from two sources—ethnographic data and personality data. We also accumulated inferences of motivation from both consciously and unconsciously directed behavior. All of these inferences were now brought together and studied for consistencies and contradictions. If contradictions were found, they were examined by reference to psychoanalytic processes like repression and reaction formation.

When the various data had been studied to infer motivation and consistencies or contradictions had been noted, it was found possible to isolate ten basic motivations for Kaska personality. By combining some of these to reduce overlappage, six dominant motivations were finally arrived at as underlying the emotional aspects of Kaska behavior.

Once these categories were accepted, the ethnographic and personality data were again studied with the aim of formulating explicit definitions of these basic motivations applicable only to the Kaska. The motivations now became principles by which the data could be classified.

[9] Some of the literature utilized includes Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1938); Stekel, *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1943); Sharpe, *Dream Analysis* (1937); Oesterl, *The Language of the Dream* (1939); and Lowy, *Psychological and Biological Foundations of Dream-Interpretation* (1940).

Symbols for dreams recognized in European and American society were not regarded as valid for interpreting Kaska dreams unless, in the opinion of the ethnographer, associations or other data confirmed that meaning. Native ideas of dream interpretation were taken into consideration wherever possible.

[10] Among works utilized are Klopfer and Kelley, *The Rorschach Technique* (1942); Beck, *Rorschach's Test: I Basic Processes* (1944); Beck, *Rorschach's Test: II A Variety of Personality Pictures* (1945); Minkow, *Rorschach Psychology* (1943); and Bochner and Halpern, *The Clinical Application of the Rorschach Test* (1945). A few additional references will be cited in the text.

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When the process of analysis was completed, there came the task of describing the 128
operation of the world of meanings by selecting behavioral examples of its operation. In thus describing the emotional characteristics of Kaska behavior as demonstrating the operation of the world and self-views, we were occupied in describing Kaska ethos.

One more problem was set at this point—the analysis of the development of Kaska ethos. This analysis was particularly concerned with exemplifying one aspect of the study of the ethnographic data. That is, we were here concerned with inferring the dominant motivations as psychological results of socialization situations. However, as Kardiner also discovered, we found it impossible to derive with any adequate validity the basic motivations from only the analysis of this portion of the life cycle.[98] Instead it was necessary for the analysis to include knowledge of motivation which had already been inferred from a wide variety of adult activities. When this was done it was found possible to match certain psychological results of socialization with dominant motivations inferred from adult activities.

A description, called "Development of the Ethos," was then written of the relationship of the psychological results of socialization to adults' dominant motivations.

INFORMANTS

The principal individuals who will be referred to in the following pages, the informants 115
and subjects of the study, are listed below for ready identification. Heads of families have been numbered and brought out to the margin while their children, if unmarried and still living, are indented thereunder. The only exceptions to this procedure have been made in the case of adults (like John Kean and the Wiley sisters) who, even though currently unmarried, maintain their own homes for at least part of the year. All these persons were previously married and are now divorced or widowed. Ages, in some cases given in years and months, are indicated in parentheses. The bracketed numbers, following the ages of a few family heads, refer to parents still alive at the time when field work was begun. Moiety membership (expressed as Wolf or Crow) is indicated where such affiliation is generally recognized; children belong to the mother's moiety.

1. Attle, Eva (20). A Dease River Indian who is orphaned and lives with various brothers and sisters. Eva was married shortly before we left Lower Post in August 1945. Several years previously she had given birth to an illegitimate child which had died. Wolf.
2. Barre, Billy (68). A Dease River Indian living with his second wife. Wolf.
   a. ———, Daisy (45). A Nelson Indian and a half-sister of Nick, Peter, and Xavier Lang but full sister of Mildred Lang. She has been married many times.
      Jane (14), Willy (8), Helen (3)
3. Crow, Edward (45). A Nelson Indian.
   a. ———, Mrs. (41). Crow.
      Jessie (13), Dan (11), Mary (9), Jack (6), Eddie (4)
4. Crow, Harvey (28). A Nelson Indian.
   a. ———, Beatrice (18) [sic].
      Baby (2)

[98] Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society* (1945), 100.

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TECHNICAL CULTURE

128 LIKE all societies, the Kaska Indians are faced with the problem of surviving in a physical environment. In this division we will discuss Kaska culture as it is directed toward maintaining adaptation to the climate, weather, and natural resources of a specific geographical area, while at the same time it strives to preserve life and comfort by satisfying the physical needs of the human organism.

ANNUAL CYCLE

221 The economic life of the Kaska tribes is closely bound up with the exploitation of their forest surroundings. During the summer months, the people live leisurely around the trading post, relying upon the traders' stocks for almost all of their requirements. The means to buy these goods, however, is the money received for fur that was trapped during the previous winter and spring.

A good time to begin studying the annual cycle is in August or September, when the people, by quitting Lower Post, put an end to their relatively idle summer. Returning home to the winter settlements and trap lines is always undertaken with great eagerness since, among other rewards, it means relief from the expensive diet of canned meat and other staples and promises a welcome supply of fresh meat and fish. The months until early November are occupied with hunting, drying meat, working hide, building or repairing cabins, and manufacturing equipment like toboggans, sleighs, and snowshoes, which will be necessary for winter trapping. With the first heavy snowfall, hunting becomes of secondary importance and trapping begins for fine fur. This activity is often interrupted around Christmas for a visit to the trading post by men and boys. Here skins are sold and additional food purchased for transportation home. Two or three such trips may be made in the course of a winter. With the arrival of March, beaver and muskrat trapping starts and when this period ends in spring, the people are ready to undertake their summer visit to Lower Post, where they arrive in late May or June.

CAPITAL

477 Against this bird's eye view of the round of Kaska life, we now take up in detail the
556 economically productive routines of the people. All of the exploitative and technological processes to be described depend on a remarkably small accumulation of capital or producer goods, much of which is of negligible intrinsic value.

471 A large portion of the capital goods used by the Kaska is not manufactured by the
[439] society but is purchased from traders. Such goods include guns, traps, fish nets, sewing machines, snare wire, knives, meat tools and implements, hatchets, utensils, and utensils. Pack dogs are domesticated locally although small hunt dogs are purchased from Tahltan Indians. Other products, equally important in carrying out adaptive routines, are manufactured by the society. Included here are ladders, windlasses, packsacks, doggocks, lines, wedges, and skin stretchers. The construction of most native manufactures, however, de-

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SOCIAL CULTURE

128 The second major division of Kaska culture to be described, is derived from those ideas and activities which reflect the individual's adjustment to other individuals. In many situations such adjustment is essential for the execution of adaptive behaviors but it also represents the solution of additional problems arising out of interpersonal relations. Social culture has been divided into three subdivisions: interpersonal organization, ranging from the family to local groups; interpersonal relations in the larger society, including property, governmental, legal, sexual, and other relations between individuals; and those interpersonal relations centering into the lifecycle.

ORGANIZATION

Family

372. 378 The nuclear family in Kaska society consists of a married couple and their true or adopted children. Such a group is sometimes augmented by the presence of additional relatives, as for example, an aged or widowed grandparent, an orphaned grandchild, or the orphaned children of a mother's sister or father's brother. A family may also contain temporarily the unmarried siblings of either spouse. The Kaska family corresponds closely to the settlement described above in which the group occupies a single residence. If more than one family live in a settlement, they usually occupy separate dwellings.

Authority in the family is ideally invested in the husband, although actually the wife is consulted in all important considerations and may also originate action by influencing her husband's decisions. The authority of the husband is maintained even if the family happens to contain a grandparent. Although under conditions of matrilocal residence, a father may offer advice to his son-in-law, such advice is not given in an authoritative fashion and, once the marriage is established, does not dispute the authority of the husband. The importance of the father is also reflected in the fact that, despite the system of matrilineal exogamy, family names follow the patrilineal line.

Functionally the family is of great importance, constituting the primary economic unit of the society. It is able to provide its own capital goods and to exploit the environment in order to secure necessary consumer goods. Cooperation tends to be restricted to the family, but even here it cannot be demanded except from a young, unmarried son or daughter. A young married couple will generally trap together, but once children are born, the man will look to others for trapline companionship and assistance. Helpers secured in this way enter what may be described as a *partial* relationship. That is, the partner is often a related or unrelated youth who is taught the art of trapping, finely loaned traps, and extended the privilege of using the trapping territory. Such a partnership is founded primarily on congeniality and is readily dissolved. Sometimes a family takes along a mature girl or young widow. The girl helps the wife in household duties, but may also trap, using resources which are loaned her by the family with whom she resides. "They live on you. They get all money and live on you, helping till they get husband."

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inheritance are poorly formulated. The amount of inheritable goods is small, the most valuable being the trap line, but no cases of real property inheritance were recorded. Indians spoke of their children or their sons-in-law receiving a trap line but in no case had anyone attempted to make provisions for such inheritance. Since men usually take up residence in the wife's country, it is reasonably likely that inheritance would fall to either a man's daughters or to his sons-in-law. Hana, Old Man's son-in-law, opined that if his father-in-law died, he would obtain ownership of the trap line which he was now using; after him the line would go to his brother-in-law, or preferably, to his brothers, who would then continue to support his wife. This, however, was largely wishful thinking. Old Man himself felt that his trap line should go to both his sons-in-law. His statement, however, was not intended as a testamentary disposition, and there is no evidence for believing he was much concerned with the matter. River Joe's attitudes regarding the marital residence of his children may be recalled as pointing to one individual's desire to insure the inheritance of his trap line by his children. Such an expectation contrasts with Old Man's readiness to have his property pass to sons-in-law and emphasizes the unformalized patterns of inheritance. It must be remembered, however, that Old Man has no sons and only a fifteen year old unmarried daughter. He also has two sons-in-law already trapping on his line, whereas three of River Joe's sons-in-law have set themselves up independently.[17]

Other goods left by a deceased are generally kept by the surviving spouse who may sell them or apportion them among her children according to sex, a woman's objects going to girls, and a man's to boys. Inherited property so disposed of includes mainly dogs, guns, traps, snowshoes, tools, jewelry, and clothing. A deceased child's possessions, including clothes, are divided among the siblings. No report was heard of disputes about inheritance.

Government

Lacking governmental institutions of their own, the Kaska Indians are subject to the Dominion Government and, depending on their location, to the local government of Yukon Territory or the Province of British Columbia. In the present section we are chiefly interested in the Indian's relationship to these governments. We will emphasize the individual's attitudes toward federal and local authority rather than discuss the functions of these authorities in any detail.

The Kaska Indians are, with a few exceptions, wards of the Dominion of Canada. The exceptions are the relatively few women who, having legally married white men, were enfranchised as citizens and the one or two young men who have had their names removed from the "Indian list," i.e., successfully petitioned for the status of citizenship. Such individuals often deny that they are Indians and emphasize their equal-to-white status.

In general, the people regard the abstraction, government, as a "boss" whose functions

[17] In a letter dated January 5, 1944, F. R. Butler, Game Commissioner of British Columbia states: "Should the holder of a trap-line die without making any provision with regard to the transfer of his line, then the line and his estate automatically come under the control of the Official Administrator for the district, and generally such official contacts this office and has the trapline transferred to a relative of the deceased holder, or he asks for permission to sell the trap-line and equipment thereon so that any money derived therefrom may be turned into the Estate." In Yukon Territory, where trap lines are not registered, transmission following death is probably handled by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, when called to their attention.

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648 In contrast to the Tahltan, the Bear Lake people, with whom considerable marriage has
186 taken place, are accepted with little discrimination. Attitudes toward the Pelly Indians are also less hostile. The feeling of the Kaska is that the latter people are far less acculturated, that they still rely primarily on meat for food, and that they are therefore more hardy. There is a half-laughing tendency to admire this hardiness, which suggests some ambivalence of feeling. Old Man opined that the women of one lower Pelly River tribe, the Selkirk, were all unfaithful. "You sit in camp, if you're married to Selkirk woman, and your wife sees another man. When you go out and you come back you find your wife gone with kids. Selkirk Injuns always like that."

Not much is known of the Slave Indians who dwell to the east beyond the Rocky Mountains. When Louis Man heard that these people lacked the potlatch, his immediate judgement was: "Just like dog." Then he wanted to know if they didn't abandon the bodies of their dead anyplace, without troubling to inter the corpses. When this was denied, he nevertheless praised the care with which the Upper Liard people treated their dead.

Contradictory attitudes are often manifested by the Indians toward the whites. White people who are not "high toned," associate with Indians, and participate in the latter's activities are treated with a great show of enthusiasm and friendship. These attitudes were markedly expressed toward the American soldiers and construction workers who, in visiting the area, were not only cordial to the natives but also generous, giving the latter gifts of food, liquor, and other objects. Occasionally less favorable sentiments toward whites betray themselves, as when Old Man requested an Indian youth to help him run a white man's boat, saying that he didn't want to rely wholly on "stupid" whites. Resentment toward American troops was also aroused in Indian youths when these soldiers monopolized native girls. River Joe once sent a complaint to the commanding officer of the RCAF, claiming that Canadian Air Force men had disturbed his camp in the middle of the night while looking for girls. Joe was, however, proud of his friendship with American soldiers and civilians, although fully aware that his unmarried daughter and niece were the chief reasons for his popularity. The Kaska are cognizant of the fact that many white men regard them as inferior and often spread distorted reports of Indian customs. Such attitudes, although covertly resented, do not lead to quarrels unless Indians have been drinking. Occasionally white men also take it upon themselves to criticize an Indian girl's promiscuous behavior. The girl usually reacts by denying the allegations and indignantly branding her accuser a "liar."

White men who demonstrate hardihood in their adaptation to the environment and who are good hunters, quickly meet the Indians' approval. Whites who fail to develop such abilities are pitied rather than condemned. A number of Kaska men (including Richard Day and Old Man) are characterized by strong ingratiatory behavior toward whites. Old Man frankly emphasized such demeanor as a valuable technique for getting along with white men, by which he meant receiving gifts and favors—especially liquor—from them.

Sexual Relations

128 In this section the interpersonal relations arising out of the socially patterned sexual impulse are discussed. Recent studies have shown that societies differ in the values and

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attitudes which they place on sex, and we shall accordingly pay close regard to these covert aspects of sexual interaction.[10]

The Kaska tend to avoid idealizing the sexual relationship. For the most part there is little demonstration of affection in public.[11] Although young married couples show considerable devotion to one another, the closest bonds between sexual partners appear only after marriages have endured for some time. There is evidence for assuming that tender feelings are inhibited, and that romantic affection is most readily expressed by simply maintaining proximity to the loved object. Little evidence of romantic passion was adduced. Commenting on the blind devotion which a white man was showing Dorothy Flover, Mildred Bates said: "White man more crazy than Indian about girl. Don't think Indian man do that." Richard Day, a *vaitis* who had been educated at a Pacific Coast boarding school, admitted having been in love, but described the effect as so unpleasant—he could neither eat nor sleep—that he did not want to risk the experience again. Love, he explained, appears after a man has had sexual intercourse with the same girl several times.

Only the man's ideals of female erotic beauty were secured. Such ideals emphasize even, white teeth; coordinated eyes; a well shaped nose; and long, well combed hair. One informant, adding the qualities of tallness and plumpness, said that he did not fancy too prominent breasts. Breasts, with the exception to be noted below, have little erotic significance. Attractive clothes appear to enhance a girl's desirability, but informants denied any erotic significance for perfume or cosmetics.

The attitudes guarding against exposure of the genitals have already been indicated in connection with the discussion of defecation and urination. It may be added, that strong shame is not attached to the exposure of the breasts. A nursing woman will freely uncover the upper part of her body in public, and Irene Wiley once went swimming in mixed company wearing only a pair of bloomers.

Shyness in the presence of the opposite sex is more strongly developed in girls than in boys, although it is by no means lacking in the latter. It is hard to gauge how much of a girl's coyness and reticence represents expected social behavior and what part is a sincere expression of confusion, fear, and embarrassment. The proportion of these motivations undoubtedly varies among different girls. There are several girls, like Irene Wiley and Flower Joe, who can never be upset by sexual attention. Younger and less promiscuous girls, however, are quick to become conflicted and alarmed by too direct a sexual approach, and even young married women will often reflect genuine disturbance when they encounter sexual attention from strange men. In the man, intense shyness soon becomes inhibited in accordance with the social expectations.

Among themselves, young men often discuss sexual topics and would readily do so upon the invitation of the ethnographer, once his company became familiar. Always, how-

[10] For recent studies stressing the social determinants of sex see Ayres, *The Social Psychology of Hunger and Sex* (1939); Seward, *Sex and the Social Order* (1946), and Honigmann, *A Cultural Theory of Obscenity* (1944). The insight that sex is multiply determined, rather than constituting a primary determinant (as Freud postulated), stems largely from Adler. See Weisberg, *The Psychology of Sex* (1931), and Mudlow, *Self-Esteem (Dominance-Feeling) and Sexuality in Women* (1942).

[11] The display of affection in public is increasing among youths who have been outside to attend boarding school and is also evidenced by Tahltan young men and women.

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by her daughter, Lady Sun, and a foster son, Nida. With Lady Sun most of the time was her youngest son, Donald. From these relatives Mrtla received a minimum of care and little compassion. Frequently her fire was permitted to go out and rekindled only after her prolonged moaning and shrieking brought attention. Nida complained several times of being unable to sleep at night or of being awakened by Old Mrtla's demands for fire. Old Man too complained of being kept awake by the sick woman's moaning. Because of her fear and uncleanliness, all except Mrtla's daughter were reluctant to come into contact with the old woman, although on the boat journey to Old Man's place illness and debility made it practically impossible for her to climb into the vessel unassisted. On the boat she sat isolated from the other travelers and most of the time crouched in the prow near the dogs. Early in October everyone in camp left on a hunting trip and abandoned the old woman in camp with only the ethnographer's family. According to Nida, they went on the hunt only after feeling sure that Old Mrtla's health was improved, and that she was able to do small things for herself. Four or five days' supply of wood was left, but little food other than sugar, oatmeal, and flour. During this period the old woman once more relapsed into serious illness (perhaps because of too liberally helping herself to sugar, for which she had an inordinate fondness) and was unable to keep her fire going. The wood also became exhausted. Among the last people to return from the hunt was Mrtla's daughter.

Youth shows little sympathy with the debilities and weaknesses of old age. No courtesies are developed toward the old. So long as a camp contains food, however, a helpless old person will not be allowed to starve. The aged are also entitled to rations provided by the Indian Affairs Branch. Unless there are particularly devoted children, however, it is likely that the standard of living of the very old must go below that of the average member of the society.

Sickness[*]

Sickness is apt to strike at any point along the life cycle and its classification following old age is solely a matter of convention. Here we will deal with those aspects of illness which affect the person's interpersonal relations. The Kaska Indian, with rare reprieves, is forced to live in close association with illness, either his own or that of some member of his family. While all illness is not necessarily serious, concern with symptoms occupies a large portion of the adult's attention. Young people, in contrast, often underestimate the seriousness of sickness.

Little concern with the implications of sickness for the future is manifested, even by those men who are most concerned with their symptoms. Yet incapacitation through illness may have serious economic consequence. Illness in the fall, for example, can prevent hunting and frustrate the accumulation of meat for the winter. If serious ill health occurs in the winter it hinders trapping. The following spring, with insufficient fur, a man can do little more than pay off the credit extended to him the previous year before beginning to run up a new and higher debt. Several men were caught in this vicious circle.

The economic burden resulting from a man's sickness must, in greatest part, be borne

[*] Field work in connection with sickness was greatly aided by the use of Ackerknecht's *On the Collecting of Data Concerning Primitive Medicine* (1943). For other information concerning ideas of sickness and medicine in Kaska society see below pp. 247–248.

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IDEATIONAL CULTURE

The third major division of Kaska culture is built principally around the ideas and attitudes which the Indians direct toward the supernatural, natural, and social environments. These ideas, in many cases underlying behaviors described in the technical and social cultures, serve both adaptive and adjustive functions but in addition fulfill the important need of securing the individual's personal adjustment toward his known universe. Through these thought patterns the Indian strives to understand his experience.

In this division we will describe beliefs ranging from the fields of religion to natural history and human biology. We will discuss behaviors toward the supernatural environment and prompt activities illustrating the motivating role of other ideas. An attempt will also be made to understand the perceptual, conscious and unconscious, thought and conceptual processes of the people, and to explore the breakdown of rational control which occurs in some Indians when under the influence of alcohol or in mental disease.

NUMBERS AND MEASURES

Although the western system of numeration has been universally adopted in the Kaska area, few individuals are capable of extending such reckoning beyond one hundred. Arithmetical calculations are limited to simple mental additions and subtractions. No ritual or symbolic significance of numbers could be obtained.

The standard English system of weights and measures is in use, but the ability to understand these is not evenly developed. Most men have a fairly clear conception of mass measures, such as pounds, but a much more limited comprehension of length. When traveling along the crooked courses of rivers, Indians often refer to distance in terms of the number of points of land that must be rounded rather than the mileage that remains to be covered. There is keen interest in translating the distance between two known locales into miles but individual estimates are often widely at variance. White men are regarded as authoritative sources of such information, the ethnographer's maps being several times utilized in order to measure the distance from Lower Post to individuals' trap lines. Volume measures are also difficult for people to estimate, especially if a container is larger than five gallons.

In sewing the method of measurement is to compare the material to the span of the hand or the length of the arm. Rules, measuring rods, and squares are not used in carpentry or sewing.

Most Indians own clocks and pocket or wrist watches. These, however, are not primarily used to order time since most people are unable to read the dials and the measurement of time, like other measures, is only gradually being learned. Disagreement between time pieces is often considerable, especially in winter when, if a clock stops and there is no radio, the owner is only poorly able to guess at what hour to reset the instrument. The confusion resulting from Lower Post being on the boundary of two time zones is also partly responsible for the discrepancy between time pieces in summer. Individuals are not governed by time in the performance of customary activities.

By means of journals or by marking off the passage of days on a small calendar, an effort

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in heaters even when green. Balsam is found in high mountains on rocky soil. The wood is good for fuel when dry and is easy to chop. The brush is particularly comfortable, its softness being compared to silk. People also regard the odor of balsam brush as highly pleasant.

Miscellaneous. Cosmic phenomena have stimulated relatively little speculative thinking among the Kaska. There is, for example, no clear idea if the moon and sun are male or female. Nitla had once vaguely heard that in May the moon is a woman. This may be a reflection of the Catholic belief regarding May as the month dedicated the Virgin Mary. There are no ideas of the moon affecting human behavior. The big August moon is a sign that game is fat but the planet itself does not influence the growth of game. Eclipses are noted with wonder but no interpretation of their cause or function could be obtained.[6]

Some men, notably Old Man and River Joe, possess a good knowledge of hydrographic phenomena, like the ability to "read water," which has been derived from long experience working on traders' river boats. It is widely recognized that rivers like the Liard, which rise in mountains, freeze quickly. On the other hand, rivers like the Frances and Dease, which have their sources in large lakes, take longer to ice over. People desire river ice to form quickly, as this assures a smooth surface that is ideal for toboggan travel. In hauling wood on sleighs and toboggans, the vehicles are often run on the smooth shore ice of rivers.

Directions are not related to the cardinal points and few Indians could indicate north or south. References to direction are generally by the courses of rivers or by known landmarks identified with place names.

HUMAN ORGANISM

In this section are reported knowledge and attitudes concerning the structure and functioning of the human body as well as information, based on reports, observation, and clinical testing, regarding socially patterned psychological processes. It is obvious that some of the data consists of popular, scarcely formalized beliefs, which may vary considerably between different individuals, especially between members of different tribal districts. Some of the ideas may be survivals of aboriginal conceptions. These, however, in contemporary Kaska thought are associated with attitudes which have undoubtedly been acquired from missionaries and other white men. As in the case of religion, no attempt has been made to classify aboriginal retentions apart from introduced ideas, our purpose being to describe the content of knowledge regardless of its sources.

Bodily Structure and Function

The pattern of human growth is compared to the development of other aspects of nature. "Anything in the ground he grow. Soon big grow; no more he grow. Injun just the same." Growth of the body is a function of bone development. Girls mature more rapidly than boys.

Weather, food, and heredity are the principal factors determining the growth process. Summer is a more favorable period for human development than winter, so again it would seem as though the organism is viewed as developing in harmony with the rest of the

[6] Nitla remembered an eclipse of the moon which he had witnessed two years previously. He still recalls the phenomena with wonder. See his autobiographical sketch below, p. 352.

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and for pain near the heart. A cup or two of the stems of the raspberry plant boiled in water provides a cathartic. For a skin irritation on the back of her knees, Elsie Lang was advised by her grandmother, Mrs. Man, to apply a poultice made of fresh or dried boiled fireweed. Two handfuls of willow buds boiled with a pint of water for about twenty minutes in a discarded food tin (the buds discolor metal when boiled) make a medicine that will cure cold. Doses should be taken at regular intervals. A willow-like plant, known as "moose brush" and growing along the upper reaches of Dease River, is highly regarded for its medicinal efficacy. The stems of the plant are boiled for several hours and the effusion drunk for chest pain and cough. The solution may also be used for washing sore eyes. Stems are kept for reuse, but are discarded after several boilings.

The inhalation of the fumes of dog urine is a popular remedy for cold. A person watches for a place where dogs urinate and collects the soaked wood or brush to use in creating a smudge. People walk back and forth through the fumes, breathing them. This treatment is also thought to be effective in preventing cold. When Louis Man's baby showed a swollen neck, the father suggested an "old fashioned" remedy. A hot rock, heated in the oven and wrapped in a towel, was applied to the sore area. Exercise is sometimes recommended for therapy. Following a long period of illness from cough and cold, Old Man set out on a five mile walk, planning to fish upon arrival at his destination. "I figger if my blood work, I'm all right."

CONCLUSIONS

It is not likely that any analysis of Kaska ideational culture made with reference to the criteria of adaptive and adjustive efficiency will reward us with greater insight than we have already derived. As a matter of fact, although many of the ideas which we have just discussed may potentially be of great utility in making a living, their value depends upon their behavioral application; to discuss the manner in which the Kaska apply their empirical knowledge, for example, would require repetition of much that we have already said concerning the Indians' style of life.

Therefore, in concluding the description of Kaska culture, we shall be content with briefly sketching the structural relationship of a few aspects of ideational to technical and social behaviors. The ideal virtues of men and women, for example, are clarified when the industriousness and skill ideally expected of the man are considered alongside the nature of the male's economic routines and their significance for survival. The Indians are aware of the necessity for hard work in the business of getting a living but do not practice as much as they believe. The economic importance of a woman's industriousness is also revealed in the ethical standards, indicating how important feminine labor is seen to be in conjunction with the man's economic role. Despite men's statements that they can live independently, both sexes are clearly expected to supplement one another, as they actually do. From another point of view, the relative simplicity and unelaboration of ideational material may itself be regarded as functionally related to the primacy of the food quest in the life of the society. Intensive speculation, whether religious or empirical, requires sufficient leisure for at least part of a society plus an intellectual tradition on which to build. Both these conditions are lacking for the people of the Cassiar. Even the sexual life is influenced by the economic pat-

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ETHOS

IN this division we propose to describe Kaska ethos, for illustrations drawing upon the cultural data already presented and upon such additional personality data as may be required. Each of the dominant motivations first will be defined briefly and then described as it expresses itself in behavior. A synthetic interpretation of the Kaska world and self-views follows this portion of the work and finally a theory is offered to explain the patterning of the dominant motivations in the socialization process.

DOMINANT MOTIVATIONS

We have defined the socially patterned dominant motivations as constituting a world of meanings, which influences the emotional significance of internal or external situations and becomes expressed in a human being's motivated response to such a situation. Obviously basic motives do not operate in isolation from the rest of the organism and its environment, but rather interact with nutritional, glandular, climatic, social, and geographic determinants.[1]

Kaska ethos comprises the operation of six basic motivations. Reserving their definition for the present, these are: egocentricity, utilitarianism, deference, flexibility, dependence, and emotional isolation. From the subsequent description of the expression of these motives, it will be apparent that some of these headings could be subsumed under others. Such overlap is to be expected, however, since most behavior is expressive of more than one motive and because we have made no effort to characterize the society by the method of listing independent traits. Furthermore, the dominant motivations must be thought of as interrelated aspects of a single configuration. Their isolation for separate consideration only serves the purpose of convenient analysis.

Little importance should be attached to the words that have been chosen to designate these motivations without referring to their explicit definitions. Words utilized for the characterization of personality in western society often have a loose connotation. When, added to this loose usage, it is remembered that such words also have a significance derived from experience in one cultural context, the danger will be realized of making these symbols do duty for the description of superficially similar phenomena in another cultural context.[2]

[1] It is necessary to remember that although all behavior is determined, not all activity is motivated. Decrying the obfuscating, synonymous usage of "motivated" and "determined" Maslow writes: "There are many determinants of behavior other than motives. For instance, one other important class of determinants is the so-called 'field' determinants. Theoretically, at least, behavior may be determined completely by the field, or even by specific external stimuli, as in association of ideas, or certain conditioned reflexes. If in response to the stimulus word 'table,' I immediately perceive a memory image of a table, this response certainly has nothing to do with my basic needs." (Maslow, *A Theory of Human Motivation* [1946], 42-43.) As is apparent from the example given, Maslow here is not referring to the free association relied upon by psychoanalysis. In discussing Kaska ethos we limit our subject matter to behavior that is motivated by dominant motivations.

[2] A loose cross cultural use of psychiatric concepts may be noted in many studies of national character appearing shortly before and during the second World War. See Klineberg, *A Science of National Character* (1944), 133-136.

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A related difficulty arises with respect to the valuational connotation associated with some of the words used to describe Kaska dominant motivations. It is inevitable that the characterization of personality by the use of words which have obtained currency in European and American psychiatry and clinical psychology should be loaded with implicit value. Overtones of value emerge from terms like passivity, dependence, mastery, and ego strength. Kardiner has defended the necessary use of similar terms because of their utility, but has rejected characterizations like "normal" and "abnormal" as pure value or moral judgments.[1] Three cautions may guide us through this predicament. In the first place, psychiatric descriptions borrowed from one cultural context and applied to behavior of non-western societies do not necessarily have the same significance which they enjoy in the psychiatrist's own social group. Isolation, dependence, constriction, and moderate ego toxicity, when applied to the Kaska, by themselves never denote positive or negative values; intrinsically they are neither good nor bad. In the second place, terms like anxiety, frustration, fear, and others always denote unpleasant psychological states. Finally, defenses (like passivity) developed against unpleasant states (like anxiety) are to be regarded as either able to resolve, or incapable of resolving, those conditions. Any final appraisal of such defenses, however, involves a psychiatric rather than a moral judgment which, if made, must always take due cognizance of all the relevant facts within a specific cultural context. In other words, the anthropologist choosing to make such an appraisal must prepare himself to estimate objectively the efficiency of a socially patterned defense system in terms of its social consequences.

In discussing each motivation our procedure will be to first give a definition. This will generally be followed by a description of the motive's expression in observed behavior, verbal communication, and inferred unconscious attitudes. Wherever possible the expression of the motive in the Rorschach test situation will also be considered.

With regard to the definition of the dominant motivations, it is our experience that membership in a society which fails to understand an attitude, for example flexibility, makes it extremely difficult to define such a construct in positive terms. We can much more readily say what flexibility is not; for in a society like ours, which stresses order and routine, any absence of these attributes is quickly noted. An attempt is nevertheless made to present, in some degree, an objective and positive definition of all dominant motivations. In discussing the expression of the motivations, attention is centered on the manner in which they enter into many cultural situations; in other words, emphasis is directed as much as possible on the influence exerted by those aspects of personality on the adaptive and adjustive features of Kaska culture.

A word may be added concerning the procedure followed in describing the expression of the dominant motivations in the Rorschach test. The meaning of the response category in every case is clearly given and either generally follows the standard interpretation of that category as formulated by Rorschach experts or else involves an explicitly stated assumption making the interpretation more applicable to the Kaska.

Egocentricity

Egocentricity refers to a dominant motivation charged with a high evaluation of individualism and personal independence. Interests are self-centered rather than group con-

[1] Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society* (1945), 219, 234-237, 272-278.

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freedom and tries to dominate others by authoritarian direction. This behavior imperils the individual's value of deference by earning him considerable disapproval and dislike. Authoritarianism, in the few Kaska individuals where it occurs, is too complex for analysis simply as a device for reinforcing self-interest and independence by controlling other people in much the same way as the normal personality seeks to control the natural environment. In addition, the dominant man in the society may be a particularly aggressive person who, contrary to social expectations, too freely releases hostility. Nevertheless, despite these ramifications men like John Kean, Peter Lang, and Harry Lang may have their dewiness partly understood as following from a failure to project the desire for personal invisibility. Instead they attempt to carry over into social relationships egocentrically motivated demands for personal control.

From what has been said, it is apparent that egocentricity motivates the characteristic individualism of the Kaska Indians. Besides being expressed in the atomistic social structure, we find this note extended into the games which people play. Team organization is rudimentary in the popular stick game, teams being little more than a series of individuals playing together. Members bet against single persons on the opposite side and otherwise manifest little tendency to cohere as a group. It remains to be seen how competitive sports may someday become integrated into such a personality setting.

Egocentricity also finds expression in sex, sexual relations being unconsciously identified with successful hunting and sexual potency with feelings of general capacity and mastery. The evidence for the relationship of self-assertion to sex is indicated in the socially patterned interpretation of sexual dreams. Referring to a dream characterized by his son-in-law's sexual ardors toward a widow, Stella Wiley, Old Man said: "I look for Stella on ice all day—I mean animal." He explained, saying: "If you dream you play with girl and then hunt, you kill a [female] animal." In other words, on the day following the dream Old Man looked for game on the frozen river. The relationship of sex to self-assertion will be more extensively discussed below.[1]

Egocentricity in men and women. We have described the operation of egocentricity in behavior which seeks to maintain independence, self-interest, and responsibility. Attention will now be directed to the relative development of egocentricity in the sexes.

The ethnographic data have already revealed that some women show a tendency to emulate the roles of men and to anticipate unfavorably the state of motherhood; their behavior is expressive of masculine striving and suggests considerable self-assertion. Although in marriage women are generally content to permit husbands to originate important action and are prepared to offer a number of personal comforts which men do not reciprocate, married women still continue to seek opportunity for realizing their capacities through hunting and trapping. Widows show little immediate inclination to remarry but are often possessed of sufficient initiative and resourcefulness to support themselves independently. All these data express a considerable degree of feminine individualism and independence. They are evidence that, like men, women are also motivated by egocentric striving. A few feminine behaviors suggest less egocentricity for that sex. Women, in contrast to men, have

[1] See below, pp. 349-358. For the relationship of Old Man's failing capabilities to dreams of sexual mastery see the analysis of his personality below, p. 350.

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moderate development of the ego. No profound difference in the egocentric direction of the masculine or feminine personality seems to obtain. Under situations of stress, illness, and old age, because of the failure of the physical capacities of the individual, the ego becomes unable to execute the egocentric demands of the personality. This leads the individual to resort to passive forms of mastery which conflict with the egocentric goal, thereby arousing anxiety.

Utilitarianism

In referring to an aspect of Kaska motivation, utilitarianism denotes a practical, functional, ingenious approach to the problems of living, and the ability to grapple with the problems resourcefully. The motivation aims toward mastery of experience via concrete, immediate thinking, sparing a minimum of attention for abstract speculation or non-functional elements of craftmanship like beauty, decoration, and perfectionism.

This section will consider the expression of utilitarianism in adaptive situations, personally adjustive behavior, the Rorschach test situation, and, finally, with reference to the Kaska Indian's reality system.

Adaptive expression. Utilitarianism, in motivating practical and ingenious behavior, bears a close relationship to the dominant motivation of egocentricity. As already pointed out, together the two dominant motivations may be described as headed for a goal of self-sufficiency, utilitarianism aiding the achievement of independence by providing practical resourcefulness. Whereas egocentricity sponsors the attitude: "I *must* do this by myself," utilitarianism reinforces individualism with the statement: "I *can* do this alone." Faced with a rigorous and often dangerous environment, the Indian must be resourceful and competent in meeting the problems which he encounters in the atomistic social setting of his making, where cooperation is limited and professional assistance unobtainable.[13]

The role of utilitarianism in motivating adaptive problem solution is well illustrated by the characteristic resourcefulness and ingenuity displayed by Kaska Indians. Consider, for example, the cleverness with which men use common tools as substitutes for more refined implements—the ax as a saw or plane, the knife as a chisel and plane. Despite the Indian's preference for modern tools, he is never hampered when confronted with a necessary task whose postponement is impossible but for which suitable appliances are not available. Ingenuity leads a man to manufacture usable substitute equipment. While making snowshoes, preparatory to visiting the trap line, Hans Donnelly discovered that the settlement lacked small sized bits for drilling holes in the wooden frames. Spending eight to nine hours in heating and beating down the point of a file, Hans succeeded in manufacturing a suitable drill point which he then mounted in a wooden handle. When tools break in the winter trapping districts, where replacements are difficult to obtain, they are often soundly repaired with few other aids than a file, wire, and babiche. We have seen lost firing pins for .22 caliber rifles replaced with filed down nails, and split ax handles serviceably lashed with babiche. No commercial machine or apparatus, other than perhaps the radio (and here curiosity is begin-

[13] This statement may be modified if we consider that Indians sometimes secure a little expert mechanical assistance from white trappers in Lower Post. During much of the year, however, such specialized advice is not obtainable.

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Adjustive expression. Up to this point discussion has been limited to aspects of utilitarianism revealed in adaptive resourcefulness. We now propose to examine the expression of this dominant motivation in the individual's psychological adjustment to phenomena like time, direction, and concept formation.

The Indian's slight concern with abstract systems of generalization is reflected first in the relative timelessness of the people. The best apprehended divisions of time are either based on the alternation between night and day, the passage of seasons, or else derived from the duration of cultural tasks (such as the period of time required to build a toboggan, make snowshoes, or clean a hide). Superimposed upon these relatively concrete divisions of time are the introduced patterns of a more abstract apportioning of the day, month, and year. Why have the Indians been slow in orienting themselves to the latter temporal divisions? Any explanation for this lag must take into account the dominant motivation which is threatened by these more abstract systems. Utilitarianism includes the need to be concrete. The abstract conception of time is meaningless, since it divorces the individual from realistically perceived units which he feels best suited to control.

This point of view may perhaps be better illustrated by abstract spatial orientation. The points of the compass mean little to the Kaska Indian. Instead, he equates himself to things of immediate personal significance, like the camp, a ridge, a range of hills, a river, or the direction of the current. The native patterns of temporal and spatial orientation may also be interpreted by saying that the concrete gives the Indian a sense of mastery, while the abstract means losing control. Mastery, therefore, is an aim of utilitarianism just as it is also related to egocentricity. In his orientation to time and space, the Kaska Indian is expressing both these dominant motivations in an attempt to preserve his self-sufficiency. It follows that any increasing readiness and ability to accept abstract temporal and spatial ideas would have to develop in terms of the native's world and self-views, or would follow from important basic personality changes.

Educational methods displayed in relation to children, with their neglect of principles and stress on learning by doing, also reflect the lack of motive to conceptualize, as well as the lack of interest in planning to which we will now turn attention.

Utilitarianism motivates the person's concrete attention to the present, whose significance is more readily perceived by the personality than past or future. The absence of idealizing or sentimental attitudes toward the past is related to both a focus on practical contemporary problems and an absence of intense interest in the future. As a result of an inability to cathect the past, the individual is unable to systematize his own life history beyond a series of sequential events, and often uninterested in even doing that within an orderly time frame. Examples of the inability to anticipate the future emotionally are provided from the ethnographer's discussion of the possibility that the Cassiar might become more familiar to white people, with a consequent influx of visitors. What would this mean to the Indian? Few men, with whom this potential problem was discussed, reacted to it with more than polite attention. The picture became even more extreme when individuals were hypothetically confronted with their own future. We have seen Gerald Leonard's reaction to this subject marked by a lack of personal ambition or aspiration and little evidence of genuine emotional interest.[14] Gerald is an adolescent. In Nitla, a young adult, we find even less in-

[14] See above, p. 191.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

157 X 181 *Reality systems.* Kardiner has found it useful to distinguish between two types of reality systems.[34] Both have emotional components, but the first is derived from empirical sources while the second is of projective origin, being related to early experiences of the individual. A less developed projective system, Kardiner says, may be correlated with a greater degree of adaptability.[35] It goes without saying that an empirical reality system is also influenced by the individual's early life. For our present purpose we may distinguish between these two reality systems on the basis of whether they rely on empirical or mystical explanations for phenomena.

Utilitarianism among the Kaska is associated with a moderately developed empirical and a more restricted projective reality system. Illness, death, and a host of other experiences tend to be explained in empirical terms, or with reliance on deductive reasoning and analogy rather than on mystical apprehensions. We are thus returned to the earlier formulation of moderate ego strength as a characteristic of Kaska personality. Just as the empirical reality system tends to affirm ego strength, the ethological significance of the projective reality system is to deny the fortitude of the ego. Projective thought comes into operation as a result of the passivity which chronically underlies the person's self-sufficiency. Projective thinking among the Kaska is distinguished by a desire to avoid offense to the supernatural lest trouble befall the individual. Some loose integration of Christian attitudes toward the supernatural has also occurred, the emphasis in these being to solicit help from the supernatural in order to avoid trouble. Many of the dominant motivations, whose operations will now be described, have as their goal a passive adjustment to reality. Among other things we will note their relation to the projective reality system.

Résumé. Utilitarianism has been described to show its functions in assuring the adaptation and psychological adjustment of the individual. Characterized by resourcefulness, ingenuity, and concrete thinking along practical lines, this dominant motivation organizes experience in a manner designed to guard against the need for passive adjustments. In association with a lack of concern for perfectionism, art, and beauty, utilitarianism serves to concentrate energy on elemental survival needs. It is related to a moderately developed empirical reality system, an underemphasis of abstract, speculative systematization, and lack of serious or careful planning toward the future.

Deference

156 X 181 Deference denotes a dominant motivation directed to maintaining warm human relations, that provide assurance of the individual being liked and respected. The expression of deference is marked by care to avoid arousing anger or hostility and by conscious antipathy to aggression.

● 128 X 181 First we shall consider the expression of deference in behavior and ideas, followed by consideration of the hostility component ו Kaska personality, and opportunities taken for the discharge of aggression.

X 156 X 181 *Expression of deference.* The importance of deference in an atomistic social structure need

[34] Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society* (1945), 38-46.

[35] "... a society which is dominated by projective techniques lacks adaptability. ..." Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society* (1945), 44.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

APPENDIX A: PERSONALITY MATERIALS

128 OUR purpose in this appendix is to throw into relief five Kaska individuals, three men and two women. For most of these we have some autobiographical material to illustrate how their personalities developed. The P-data sheets for four of these persons also reveal their personalities in action. While we also have abundant personality data for Nitla, sufficient interpretations of his behavior have already been given to make any further analysis repetitious.

We shall see that although all of these Indians possess relatively similar world and self-views, in each idiosyncratic factors cause different expressions of the dominant motivations. Just as every individual in a society is conditioned by the social group in which he is born, so every person is also influenced by personal experiences. We do not assume that any of these subjects are typical of Kaska society, although one or another may be closer to some aspects of the ideal norm than others. Nor can it be said that they have all been selected from the more atypical, extraversive, or articulate members of the group, although the absence of a proportionate number of women certainly indicates some degree of unavoidable selection. Nitla, however, is certainly not a cultural deviant. Apart from the fact that the culture facilitated work with men, selection operated in the choice of subjects to the extent that potential collaborators had to belong to the Upper Liard tribe or camp on the north bank of the river where the ethnographer's residence was maintained. Practical difficulties made this limitation essential, but does not necessarily produce biased results. In the future it would certainly be desirable to repeat observations with members of other tribes.

The order for each subject will be to present first an autobiographical sketch which, for convenient reading, has been edited and arranged in proper sequence. No autobiography was obtained from Louisa Man. Little attempt has been made to transform life history material into literary narratives. Following this sketch, the Rorschach scores of all but one subject (no record was obtained from Harry Lang) will be given and interpreted. Finally, we will describe how each of these subjects, Nitla excepted, behaved during the term of field work, drawing upon the P-data sources for dreams, conversational remarks, and illustrative incidents. An analysis will seek to relate this behavior to the dominant motivations already described.

OLD MAN

Autobiographical Sketch

159 My father's father, Whiskers, was a Tagish Indian. He was born in Tagish country—maybe west of Whitehorse near the salt water. He often talked about salt water to his children. One year he put up nearly ten thousand salmon for the winter, he told us. Whiskers lived to be about eighty-four and then died at Ross River. My father's mother was also a Tagish Indian. She was one of Whiskers' four wives and her name was Sandma—Old Dog Mother.

My mother's father, Taistsan—Long Hair Man, belonged to the Liard River country and told me many stories about his people. He died about the time the Yukon gold rush

TEIT ON TAHLTAN AND KASKA INDIANS

●128 Editor's preface

This text by James Teit is the completed portion of a projected report on the ethnology of the Tahltan. Several more topical sections were to be written and inserted in the present manuscript. For some of these, notes exist. We hope, in later issues, to publish some of Teit's uncompleted notes for the missing chapters and a map by Teit showing band boundaries.

In the material here presented, corrections by the editor have been held to the minimum consistent with clarity. Editor's insertions are bracketed by slashes. Asen Balikci assembled the photographs and coordinated them with the text.

J. H. MacNeish

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12

INTRODUCTION

THE present monograph is intended primarily to describe the aboriginal and time-of-contact lifeways of the Kaska Indians of northern British Columbia and southern Yukon Territory, Canada (Fig. 1). The writer's principal object has been to add to present knowledge concerning the Northern Athapaskan Indians. As far as the organization of the material is concerned, the cultural data follow this introduction, which includes, in addition to these preliminary remarks, a description of the environment (based mainly on contemporary observation), tribal distribution and nomenclature, population data, a sketch of psychological types, and an index of principal informants.[1] The description of aboriginal Kaska culture is divided into five main sections covering, respectively, data pertaining to the food quest, camp life and some associated activities, social organization, ideological system, and the life cycle. These main divisions are in turn further broken down. For many of the dress patterns, implements, and behaviors, alternatives are indicated. It must be kept in mind that evidence does not warrant the assumption that all such alternatives existed simultaneously.

Information has been obtained primarily from the Upper Liard and Dease River Kaska (Fig. 2). When available, data from other Kaska groups follow these two in the following order: Tselona, Espatotena, and Frances Lake Kaska. References to adjacent tribes, like the Tahltan, Pelly River people, Bear Lake Sekani, and Tlingit will be found in footnotes.

ENVIRONMENT

To the person who has not been raised to love the prairie the Cassiar, as the northwestern area of British Columbia and southern Yukon Territory is often called,[2] must appeal as a colorful and exciting region. Lying between the Rocky Mountains on the east and the Coast Range to the west the country is bounded north and south by water sheds of considerable height. Geologically the Cassiar may be considered as a portion of the Yukon Plateau.[3] Between the eastern and western ranges the land is rolling and crossed from northwest to southeast by the Cassiar Mountains, which extend from Teslin Lake to the headwaters of the Finlay River (Fig. 2). Below McDame Creek, 80 miles south of Lower Post, the Dease River cuts a gorge through the Cassiar Mountains

[1] The history of the Cassiar and its people will not be presented in this monograph, since it has already been written in some detail. See Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society* (1949), 38-50; Schlesier, *Stikine River in 1898* (1899).

[2] For an impressionistic picture of the area see Turton, *Cassiar* (1934). The term Yukon is apparently derived from the Athapaskan word for Northern Lights, yukaŋa. (Cf. Osgood, *Ingalik Material Culture* [1940], 439.) Le Jeune, however, derives the territory's name from a supposed "Yuki" (Wicked Ones) Indian tribe. Le Jeune, *Dictionnaire Général du Canada* (1931), II, 826.

[3] Lees, *Geology of Teslin-Quiet Lake Area, Yukon* (1934), 5. See also Hanson and McNaughton, *Eagle-McDame Area, Cassiar District, British Columbia* (1936), 2-3; Kerr, *Dease Lake Area, Cassiar District, B. C.* (1936). For maps the reader is referred to Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society* (1949), 32, 34.